MEMORANDUM

OF

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

In Connection with the Placing of the Item on the Withdrawal of All the Foreign Troops Stationed in South Korea under the Flag of the United Nations on the Agenda of the 29th Session of the U.N. General Assembly

(Translation)

At the joint proposal of socialist countries and a number of Asian and African countries, the question of withdrawing all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations has been placed on the agenda for the 29th session of the United Nations General Assembly this year.

To withdraw all the foreign troops bearing the signboard of "U.N. Forces" from south Korea poses itself now as an urgent problem the solution of which brooks no further delay, for the realization of the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea.

It fully accords with the aspiration and desire of the Korean people and the peace-loving peoples the world over and also conforms to the principles of the U.N. Charter for the current session of the U.N. General Assembly to discuss this question placed on its agenda and take a relevant affirmative measure.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea expresses its thanks to the Governments of many friendly countries for presenting themselves as co-sponsor states of the item on the Korean question at the United Nations and to the Governments of all peace-loving countries of the world for expressing their support to and sympathy with our cause of national reunification.

At the United Nations General Assembly last year the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea," a U.S. tool for intervention in Korea's internal affairs, was dissolved, the "proposal on the simultaneous entry into the United Nations by north and south Korea" put forward by the United States and the south Korean authorities with the aim of perpetuating the division of Korea was smashed and support was expressed to the three principles of national reunification—independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

This created a more favourable situation for the realization of the Korean people's cause of reunification.

But the developments in Korea in the past year showed that neither the principles of the North-South Joint Statement can be realized nor can the hope of a great majority of the U.N. member states to expedite the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea through the dialogue between the north and the south on those principles be accomplished as long as the U.S. troops under the flag of the United Nations remain in south Korea.

In connection with the fact that the question of withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations has been placed on the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly this year, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea deems

it necessary to make clear the present situation of the dialogue between the north and the south and the main factors obstructing it and reclarify its just stand and policy for realizing the principles of the North-South Joint Statement.

1

It is an invariable, consistent policy of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to put an early end to the division of Korea and settle the internal affairs of the nation by the Korean people themselves without any interference of outside forces in accordance with the principle of national self-determination and by peaceful means.

The efforts made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the reunification of the country from the first days of the artificial division of our one nation and one territory owing to the occupation of south Korea by the U.S. troops were described in its Memorandum dated September 26, 1973.

After the 28th session of the U.N. General Assembly, too, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has done all it can to solve the question of Korea's reunification in conformity with the principles of the North-South Joint Statement as well as the desire and expectation of the U.N. member states expressed in the resolution of the General Assembly.

—The reunification of Korea should be realized independently without reliance upon outside forces or their interference, should be realized peacefully without recourse to the use of armed force against the other and should be realized by means of promoting great unity as one nation above anything else, transcending the differences of ideology, ideals and systems.

These three principles of national reunification, which clarify the principled ways and means for solving the question of the country's reunification in conformity with the will and national interests of the Korean people, constitute a common foundation to be relied upon by the north and the south in the settlement of reunification question. These are the principles which were not only agreed upon between the north and the south but also have now been publicly recognized throughout the world.

In the past year, too, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea took a number of measures to break the deadlock in the north-south dialogue and accomplish the great cause of the nation on the basis of the North-South Joint Statement.

In order to implement the three principles of national reunification we have already proposed to realize many-sided collaboration and inter-

change between the north and the south over all the political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields.

In particular, we have made an important proposition to remove the present state of military confrontation between the north and the south as the key factor in creating an atmosphere of national unity by dispelling the distrust and misunderstanding and deepening mutual understanding and trust between the north and the south and in advancing the north-south dialogue.

If the two sides keep huge armed forces and maintain the state of confrontation as they do now, it is impossible to create an atmosphere of political trust or advance the dialogue.

All our proposals were designed to actively hew out the way to the independent and peaceful reunification by solving all problems with the efforts of the nation itself as its internal affairs, pulling down the barriers of division at an early date and laying a practical foundation for national unity.

Inasmuch as the south Korean authorities agreed on the North-South Joint Statement, there is no reason why they could not accept these proposals of ours, if they really desired the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

But, while holding political talks with us the south Korean authorities have doggedly opposed collaboration in the political and military fields and refused the settlement of all practical matters for economic and cultural collaboration. This shows patently that they are seeking division, not reunification.

Since we cannot believe that the present south Korean authorities came out to the dialogue truly for the reunification, we think the question of the reunification of our country cannot be solved peacefully only through the negotiations between the authorities of the north and the south.

—As it was impossible to advance the dialogue without overcoming the present situation in which only the persons now in authority are allowed to take part in the north-south dialogue from the south Korean side and nobody else is permitted to discuss the question of reunification, thus virtually leading the dialogue to a rupture, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea proposed to expand the Co-ordination Commission in large measure and invite the representatives of the people of all strata in the north and the south to participate in it.

This is quite right either in the light of the national character of the question of Korea's reunification or in view of the mission of the Co-ordination Commission to discuss and solve the question.

The reunification question in Korea is not a problem confined to the interests of a certain party or group or a certain stratum, but a matter that affects the destiny of the whole nation. Therefore, the will of the entire nation should be fully reflected in the settlement of this question.

The broad sections of the popular masses of south Korea are against the present ruling system and many political parties, public organizations and figures of various circles also oppose the splitting manoeuvres of the south Korean authorities.

Even the south Korean authorities themselves cannot deny this.

This being the case, it is clear that the present south Korean authorities cannot represent their will in the question of reunification.

Making the Co-ordination Commission reflect the will of the broad sections of people of the north and the south was a matter of urgency for the restoration of its function as well as for the normalization of the dialogue especially under the circumstances in which the south Korean authorities were suppressing and stamping out the desire of the south Korean people for reunification behind the curtain of the "dialogue."

Many political parties, public organizations and people in south Korea actively supported this proposal of ours.

The "Democratic Unity Party" of south Korea demanded that "the North-South Co-ordination Commission be replenished with Opposition national leaders capable of fully representing the opinions of the whole nation and that a national consultative body be organized at an early date for expediting the reunification on a broad national foundation." (Seoul, south Korean news agency *Pusan Ilbo branch office,* December 4, 1973)

But, the south Korean authorities rejected this proposal of ours under the absurd pretext that if the Co-ordination Commission was expanded and reorganized, its functions would be weakened.

How can representation of the will of the entire nation aspiring for reunification in the North-South Co-ordination Commission lead to the weakening of its functions? Contrary to the assertion of the south Korean authorities, it will contribute to activating the operation of this deadlocked organization and further promoting the dialogue.

—In his speech on March 4, 1974 Comrade KIM IL SUNG, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, once again proposed to convene a Great National Congress or a north-south political consultative conference to be participated in by the representatives of all the political parties, social organizations and personages of all circles in the north and the south, apart from the existing North-South Co-ordination Commission.

This was another expression of the sincerity of the D.P.R.K. Government ready to continue the dialogue for reunification with the south Korean authorities, while maintaining the existing Co-ordination Commission as it is.

Accordingly, an enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland held on August 6, 1974 once again put forward a concrete proposal to convene the Great National Congress at the earliest date, as proposed by the Government

of our Republic time and again.

In view of the importance of the question of national reunification, the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland proposed to convene this year under an agreement between the two sides the Great National Congress participated in by the representatives of the people of various strata, various political parties and social organizations in the north and the south and the representatives of all overseas Koreans and their organizations.

And in order to see the successful convocation of the Great National Congress, it also proposed to hold a working-level meeting with the participation of the people of various strata, various political parties and social organizations in the north and the south and the overseas Koreans organizations to form a joint preparatory committee and make bilateral or multilateral contacts between all political parties and social organizations as soon as possible.

This fair and aboveboard proposal of ours, acceptable to anyone who is truly concerned for the destiny of the fatherland and the nation, reflected the unanimous aspiration of the entire people in the north and the south and the overseas Koreans.

Today in realizing the independent and peaceful reunification of our country through north-south negotiations, there is no better and more effective way than to refer this question of our country's reunification to the entire nation for discussion.

In south Korea loudly rang out the voices demanding that the south Korean authorities should not "play a solo" on the reunification question but a "national consultative body for reunification" be formed and that "...a north-south conference of political parties and social organizations be convened" to settle the reunification question in conformity with the desire of the entire nation.

Among the compatriots residing in the United States, Japan and other countries, too, an extensive movement was launched to restore democracy in south Korea and accelerate the reunification.

It is clear that the question of putting an end to the division of the nation that has been lasting for nearly 30 years owing to the occupation of south Korea by the U.S. army and reunifying the country in a peaceful way cannot be solved only by the efforts of a few specific persons. This question can be successfully settled only according to the general will of all the patriotic forces of Korea and all the nation, whether they live in the north or the south, at home or abroad, irrespective of political views, religious beliefs and party affiliation and groupings.

If a Great National Congress or a north-south political consultative conference is convened, the Co-ordination Commission, too, will be able to perform more satisfactorily its basic mission as a joint body of the north and the south.

Nevertheless, the south Korean authorities did not accept this proposal either.

—While doing all we can to push ahead with the north-south dialogue, we have made sincere efforts as well for the Red Cross talks in order to remove at the earliest possible date the national misfortunes—parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, and relatives and friends, separated in the north and the south due to the division of the country, do not know each other's fate until a new generation has grown up.

The five principles agreed upon between the two sides at the Red Cross talks, namely, the spirit of the North-South Joint Statement, the humanitarian spirit of the Red Cross, the principle of democracy, the principle of freedom and the spirit of compatriotism are the most realistic and reasonable principles for a successful promotion of the Red Cross work.

It is very important to bring to realization these principles at the Red Cross meetings not only for progress of the talks but also for relieving the compatriots of their sufferings practically and satisfactorily.

Therefore, consistently demanding that these principles be strictly observed, we proposed to reopen as early as possible the Red Cross talks now at a deadlock.

The south Korean side, however, created only obstacles to the talks by bringing before the humanitarian Red Cross talks the tricky espionage incidents they had faked up in a premeditated manner against the northern half of our Republic, by unilaterally putting forward those questions that should be discussed at the talks between the two sides to the international arena to speak ill of us and attempting to involve the third party in the question of the talks and by ruthlessly trampling down the human rights and dignity of man and stamping out all the democratic elements in south Korea, etc.

Through the Red Cross talks, too, the south Korean side is hatching the "two Koreas" plot, kicking up "anti-communist" clamours, stirring up north-south confrontation and building higher the barrier of division.

This is precisely the cause of the impediment to the humanitarian Red Cross talks.

—The third session of the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea put forth on March 25, 1974 an epochal proposal on concluding a peace agreement directly with the United States in order to create the prerequisite to accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

The Korean Armistice Agreement concluded in July 1953 is, to all intents and purposes, an agreement on military armistice and this cannot guarantee a lasting peace.

Besides, now that over 20 years have passed since its conclusion,

it has become already outdated itself and does not conform to the reality in many respects.

In the light of all these realities, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, attaching primary importance to removing the present state of military confrontation, repeatedly suggested to the south Korean side at the meetings of the North-South Coordination Commission that a peace agreement be concluded between the north and the south.

But the south Korean authorities opposed this proposal, too.

The whole course of the dialogue between the north and the south has shown that it is impossible to consolidate peace as long as the U.S. army remains in south Korea and instigates the south Korean authorities to north-south confrontation, thereby rendering the situation strained and that the south Korean authorities have neither intention nor ability to solve this problem.

Under such conditions, we considered it necessary to conclude a peace agreement with the United States, a signatory to the Armistice Agreement, which keeps its troops in south Korea and holds all the commanding power over the armed forces.

We proposed to include the following points in the peace agreement to be concluded with the United States:

Firstly, both sides shall pledge to each other not to invade the other side and shall remove all dangers of direct armed conflict.

The United States shall be bound in duty not to incite the south Korean authorities to the war provocation manoeuvres and fascist repression of the south Korean people or patronize them, not to hinder the north and south of Korea from reunifying the country independently and peacefully in accordance with the North-South Joint Statement, but to totally desist from meddling in the internal affairs of Korea.

Secondly, both sides shall discontinue the reinforcement of armed force and arms drive and stop introducing all weapons, combat equipment and war supplies from outside Korea.

Thirdly, the foreign troops in south Korea shall strip themselves of the "U.N. Forces" helmets and all of them withdraw at the earliest possible date, taking all the weapons along.

Fourthly, Korea shall not be reduced to a military or operational base for any foreign country after the withdrawal of all the foreign troops from south Korea.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has proposed to conclude a peace agreement of this content with the United States solely out of the desire to put an end to the foreign interference in our internal affairs, the source of constant tension in our country, and open a favourable phase in solving the domestic affairs of the nation by the Koreans themselves through the dialogue.

But the United States fails to show any positive reaction to this proposal of ours.

In spite of all the sincere efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, no progress has been made in the dialogue between the north and south and the north-south relations are turning back to a state before the announcement of the North-South Joint Statement. This is because the south Korean authorities, with the backing of the United States, have trampled underfoot all the principles agreed upon in the North-South Joint Statement and are taking a road contrary to them.

2

Today the south Korean authorities, still clinging to the policy of reliance upon the outside forces, are crying for confrontation between the north and the south and following the road of perpetuating the division of the country.

The south Korean authorities are paying lip-service to "unification." But, in reality, they, refusing all the reasonable proposals for reunification, are bringing the north-south dialogue to a rupture, inciting the north-south confrontation and intensifying the fascist suppression of the south Korean people who call for reunification.

They are only scheming with persistence to realize their wild dream for long-term office by perpetuating the division of the country and further strengthening the present fascist terror ruling system in south Korea.

The invariable splittist stand and acts taken by the south Korean authorities following the 28th session of the U.N. General Assembly last year clearly show this once again.

The south Korean authorities said they "welcomed" the resolution of the U.N. General Assembly last year, but, in reality, they acted quite contrary to it.

—The south Korean authorities proclaimed so-called "presidential emergency measures" one after another and harshly suppressed the people who desire the democratization of society and the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. Thus, they self-exposed the fact that they are in actuality dead set against the reunification.

*The south Korean authorities proclaimed "emergency measure No.1" on January 8, 1974, with a view to suppressing the struggle of the people who vigorously rose against the so-called "revitalized constitution" whereby they alone can "discourse upon unification."

Under this "measure" they forbid "all acts demanding or petitioning for the revision or repeal" of the "revitalized constitution" cooked up by means of fraudulence and conspiracy, to say nothing of "any act denying, opposing, misrepresenting or slandering" it. And anyone who "advocates,

agitates and propagandizes such actions or informs others of south actions through broadcasting, reporting, publication" and other media was liable to be "arrested and detained without warrants, confiscated and searched and sentenced to a prison term up to 15 years." (south Korean *Radio Chungang*, January 8, 1974)

In "emergency measure No. 2" proclaimed on the same day, they set up the "extraordinary military tribunal" to repress the people with unlimited power.

It had "virtually the same effect as an extraordinary martial law." (Seoul, Japanese news agency *Jiji*, January 8, 1974)

The south Korean authorities trumped up "emergency measure No. 4" on April 3 as they failed to put down the desire of the people for democracy and peaceful reunification even on the strength of the "emergency measures" cooked up in addition to the already proclaimed "state of emergency" and "extraordinary martial law."

They rigged up the so-called "case of the National Federation of Youth and Students for Democracy." And, on the pretext of suppressing it, they forbid all acts praising, encouraging and sympathizing with the activities of this organization, as well as students' boycott to school attendance, lecture and examination and holding of meetings, demonstrations, indignation rallies and sit-down strikes inside and outside campus. They sentenced anyone to death, life imprisonment or penal servitude of more than 5 years for the violation of this "measure."

Indeed, this is a murderous, draconic law without precedent in all ages and all countries.

Even a U.S. new agency reported that the south Korean authorities "went so far as to announce that they will sentence anyone to death for petitioning for freedoms of speech, religion, the press and assembly which are considered to be the elementary freedoms in any civilized society." (Washington, *A.P.* April 20, 1974.)

The so-called "case of the National Federation of Youth and Students for Democracy" about which the south Korean authorities are vociferating is a "case" cooked up by them. They concocted this case to misrepresent the mass demonstration struggle the south Korean patriotic student youths waged against the fascist repression, treacherous machinations and nation-splitting policy of the present south Korean rulers and for the democratizations of south Korean society and national independence after forming the "National Federation of Youth and Students for Democracy."

The movement against fascism and for democracy waged by the youth and students embraced in this organization fully reflects the unanimous desire of the south Korean people.

Nevertheless, the south Korean authorities committed without hesitation such a barbarous act as arresting, imprisoning, torturing and murdering a large number of innocent youth and students and patriotic people

indiscriminately on charges of involvement in this "case of the National Federation of Youth and Students for Democracy."

According to reports, more than 4,000 people were arrested and imprisoned on charges of involvement in the "case of the National Federation of Youth and Students for Democracy" and 253 people were already referred to the "extraordinary military tribunal" for trial, and over 50 of them were sentenced in the first batch to capital punishment and heavy penalties including life imprisonment.

* They also arrested and jailed the ex-"President" of south Korea, Yun Bo Son, dragged him before the "extraordinary military tribunal" and demanded 15 years of imprisonment for him for the mere reason that he said: "How can such harshness as sentencing innocent young students and Christians to death or life imprisonment be permitted?" (Seoul, Japanese news agency *Jiji*, July 13, 1974; Seoul, south Korean *Radio Munhwa*, August 9, 1974)

* Kim Dong Gil, professor of history of the Yonse University; Kim Chang Guk, rector of the Theological College; and many other professors were arrested and put to murderous trials because they demanded democracy.

* On July 6 Catholic bishop Chi Hak Sun was arrested and imprisoned because his remarks went against the grain with the south Korean authorities and pastor Pak Hyong Gyu, Manager of the south Korean magazine "The Christianism" was also thrown into prison on charges of "agitating a rebellion."

* Even, the south Korean authorities sent 6 Protestant pastors to the closed "military trial" and inflicted upon them 10 to 15 years of prison terms on charges of having distributed, in their prayer meeting, copies of a written petition demanding a revision of the "revitalized constitution" which legalized the fascist terror rule of Pak Jung Hi. (U.S. magazine *The News Week*, February 18, 1974)

* Ham Sok Hon, an old Christian pastor in south Korea, lamented that "there has never been such rigorous suppression as today either in my life" or in "the past" and will never be in the "future" and that "even the Japs at the time of the Japanese imperialist rule were not so harsh." (U.S. magazine *The News Week*, February 18, 1974)

Indeed, south Korea has today turned into a terror-ridden prison.

* A Japanese magazine wrote: "It is not that only the prison where there are those transferred to the military tribunal is a military prison.

"The whole of south Korean society is a military prison detaining those condemned to death.

"No law is effective at the military court and military prison." (The July 1974 issue of Japanese magazine *Sekai*)

In face of the strong protest of the entire Korean people and the denunciation by the world public, the south Korean authorities were forced

to announce the "lifting of emergency measures No. 1 and No. 4" some time ago. But this either is no more than a tricky farce.

The "lifting" is an empty talk. This is seen from their announcement that the large number of people arrested and imprisoned or referred to the murderous trials under the "emergency measures" would "be excluded from this lifting" and the "extraordinary military tribunal" would be kept and "trials" continued.

All these acts designed to check the trend toward the democratization of society and national reunification in south Korea by resorting to fascist tyranny prove how desperate the south Korean authorities have become in opposing the peaceful reunification of the country and maintaining their long-term power.

—The south Korean authorities are now hurling malicious slanders and calumnies at the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, making a vicious "anti-communist" row. This is also intended, after all, to incite confrontation and antagonism between the north and the south and obstruct peaceful reunification.

* The south Korean authorities, who promised to promote great national unity, transcending the differences of ideas, ideals and systems, are now crying without letup: "We cannot live together with the communists... Though we are of the same stock...., we must fight and defeat them to survive." (Seoul, June 25, 1974, south Korean news agency *Hapdong*)

* Even the south Korean "Prime Minister" made reckless remarks that "...we should strive to restore the lost land at the earliest date by consolidating the foundation for unification by prevailing over communism" and twaddled that "I hope that the unification will be realized as early as possible by prevailing over communism and the day will come to hold in north Korea a ceremony for appointing mayors and county heads of the north." (south Korean news agency, branch office of *Pusan Ilbo*, July 12, 1974)

This means that they want to have a showdown with us. This is a wild dream which can never be realized.

It is elementary knowledge that great national unity can truly be promoted and dialogue stepped up only when the two sides refrain from forcing their systems upon the other side and create an atmosphere of trust.

The south Korean authorities are obsessed with the foolish dream of "restoring the lost land" and appointing their "mayors" and "county heads" to be sent to the northern half of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Such being the case, how can great national unity be achieved or dialogue between the north and the south be held? From this one can see clearly how they approached the north-south dialogue in the past.

If they do not give up such stand, only a fight will break out in the end.

What is worse, in an attempt to incite antagonistic sentiments against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the south Korean authorities invented lies to make it appear that all the struggles against fascism and for democracy in south Korea were "dictated by the north" and they are instigating the people to oppose the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

However, nobody believes the false propaganda of the south Korean authorities who label even Catholic bishops or Christian pastors opposing fascism and demanding democracy in south Korea as "pro-communists."

South Korean public procurators tried to force Ryu In Tae, known as a leading member of the "National Federation of Youth and Students for Democracy," to confess at the court, shouting "I know well that you are not communists. But, if you admit everything recorded in the indictment for the interests of the state..., I shall not ask about your crimes." This fully exposes how this case was cooked up. (The "hearing record" published by the "Japan-South Korea Liaison Council")

These fraudulent acts of the south Korean authorities have become a target of condemnation internationally, too.

* A Japanese news agency pointed out: "Originally, the case of the National Federation of Youth and Students for Democracy itself has exposed the corruption of the Pak regime from a patriotic stand.

"It is unjust to view and treat it as communist activity." (Tokyo, July 13, 1974, Japanese news agency *Kyodo*)

A U.S. newspaper condemned: "It is absurd that Pak tries to link all his political rivals with communism; and it is an insult from the point of dishonesty." (the U.S. paper *Los Angeles Times,* July 19, 1974)

The south Korean authorities are trying to shift the responsibility for "the shooting incident" that occurred on August 15 on to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Chongryon (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), its overseas Koreans organization. It is a most preposterous trick.

What kind of connection does the so-called "criminal" of this "case" who had been living in Japan with the so-called "ROK nationality" have with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea or Chongryon? It has already been exposed to the world that this "case" is a trick cooked up by the south Korean authorities or their masters to put down the daily mounting struggle against fascism and for democracy in south Korea and divert elsewhere the attention of the south Korean people and the world's people.

Each time any case took place among themselves, the south Korean authorities tried to link it with us. This is their habitual tactics. No matter what fabrication and lie the south Korean authorities may invent and what absurd assertion they may make, they cannot cover up the sinister aim of the "case."

—The south Korean authorities are hastening war preparations and

persisting in the provocative acts against the northern half of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, leading the situation to the brink of war, in order to justify the unheard-of savage repression perpetrated in south Korea and their acts of inciting hostile feelings against the north.

* On January 18, 1974, Pak Jung Hi said: "We are now living... under a semi-wartime system." On July 16, he went the length of clamouring that "the situation today is not a semi-wartime situation but is a war time situation." (south Korean *Radio Chungang,* January 18, 1974; south Korean *Radio Tongyang,* July 16, 1974)

While issuing to the "ROK army" orders to "complete the war footing" and take a "posture for actual fighting," the south Korean authorities frequently infiltrate armed spy ships into the northern half of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to play with fire ceaselessly.

* On February 15, 1974, the south Korean authorities infiltrated two heavily-armed spy ships deep into the West Sea coastal waters of our side to perpetrate espionage and hostile acts.

The captain of the captured enemy ship confessed to the orders he received from the south Korean authorities:

"This time our ship 'Suwon-33' received, together with ship 'Suwon-32,' orders from the Central Intelligence Agency to infiltrate into the coastal waters of the north and conduct acts of espionage and conspiracy... before leaving Inchon Port."

* On June 28, 1974, they infiltrated another armed spy ship deep into the coastal waters of our side in the East Sea to commit vicious provocative acts.

At that time, too, the south Korean authorities insisted that their armed spy ship had never intruded into the coastal waters of our side. But when they could not conceal their crime any longer in face of material evidences, they made the "minister of defence" confess to their intrusion, announcing that "the ship was sunk about 6.5 miles north of the Military Demarcation Line." (south Korean *Radio Hanguk Munhwa,* July 1, 1974)

—The south Korean authorities are today persistently clinging to the outside forces, eagerly begging for the permanent presence of the U.S. imperialist aggression forces to further step up, in reliance upon the United States, all these manoeuvres for aggravating the north-south relations and opposing peaceful reunification.

* The south Korean authorities clamoured that "the longer the U.S. troops stay, the better" and that the U.S. forces are "the cornerstone of state security." (Seoul, south Korean news agency *Tongyang,* January 28, 1974)

* On May 8 the south Korean "prime minister" said: "The presence of the U.N. Forces in our country constitutes... an absolute strength, regardless of their size." The "foreign minister" ranted that "it is the basic stand of the government to keep the U.N. command as ever." (south Korean *Radio Chungang,* August 7, 1974)

It goes without saying that such an endless torrent of remarks of the south Korean authorities openly violate the principle of independence in the North-South Joint Statement that the country should be reunified independently without relying upon the outside forces or without being subject to their interference.

To call for the withdrawal of foreign troops and the dismantling of foreign military bases is now the unanimous will of the peace-loving peoples the world over and national independent states and an irresistible trend of the times.

It is only the south Korean authorities that are going against this trend of the times. This proves that the south Korean authorities are thoroughly repudiated by the people and are in such a position where they cannot live even a single day without being patronized by the bayonets of the U.S. troops.

In short, they have neither intention to reunify the country nor will to continue with the dialogue. Their only intention is to perpetuate the division of the country with the backing of the United States.

* Garry K. Redyard, professor at Columbia University, the United States, said at a press conference held in Tokyo on July 16, 1974 that "The Pak regime is trying to fix the division and fabricate two Koreas at any cost and this has become its basic policy. Among the crimes committed by the Pak regime, such problems as infringement upon human rights are also serious, but what is more intolerable is its attitude towards the reunification problem."

—In August the person in high authority in south Korea again brought forward what he calls "non-aggression pact," "opening the doors" and "north-south elections" in an effort to cover up the true colours of his group in leading the dialogue between the north and the south to a rupture and seeking the perpetuation of division.

The "non-aggression pact" loudly advertised by the south Korean authorities is merely designed to make a mockery of the nation with the question of reunification.

As everyone knows, it is not the south Korean authorities, but the U.S. commander under the guise of "UN Commander" who directly holds the supreme command of the army in south Korea.

Under the "agreement on the transfer of supreme command" and a number of other military "agreements" already concluded between the United States and south Korea, the U.S. commander assumes "responsibility for commanding" the ground, naval and air forces of the south Korean puppet army, has the "right to control general operations" and even holds the "right to defend Seoul" in his hand.

The U.S. army holds every right in its hand from control over the weapons and military equipment and various other means of war, military supplies and military setups to the formation of the south Ko-

rean army, its movement and deployment, promotion of officers, the training of soldiers and approval of their leave; no sphere and no unit of the south Korean army are outside the interference of the U.S. forces.

* Given below is what the Japanese press said:

"The ROK army has been under the command of the 'U.N. Forces' in its operations since July 1950 and its supreme command is actually held in the hand of the United States." (Japanese news agency *Kyodo,* March 26, 1974)

"It is also a fact that the leadership of south Korea in the military aspect is in the hand of the U.S. troops stationed there under the cloak of the 'U.N. Forces'." (Japanese paper *Tokyo Shimbun*, March 26, 1974)

Under these circumstances, it is ridiculous of the south Korean authorities to propose the conclusion of a "non-aggression pact", leaving the U.S. army in south Korea; it is meaningless and is not worth discussing at all.

The "non-aggression pact" proposed by the south Korean authorities is, in the final analysis, an empty talk and is designed to evade their responsibility for having rejected our proposal for a peace agreement and keep Korea divided into two for ever with the U.S. imperialist aggression army left in south Korea, and thereby stay in power for a long period.

As for the question of "opening the doors," we have consistently called for the realization of many-sided collaboration and interchange in all spheres, political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural.

But, the south Korean authorities, who have refused all this, are now talking about "opening the doors." This is nothing but a clumsy farce designed to cheat the public opinion at home and abroad into believing that they are concerned for the dialogue and interchange between the north and the south.

Their proposal for something like "elections" is either no more than a ruse to make it appear that they are endeavouring for peaceful reunification.

If an election is to be held, the political parties and social organizations and the people of all strata must, first of all, be guaranteed the freedom of expression of their will, freedom of political activities, the freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and demonstration and other elementary democratic freedoms.

But, it is a laughing-stock to talk about "elections" in south Korea under the occupation by the U.S. troops where no trace of democracy is to be found and even the desire for the democratization of society and the peaceful reunification of the country is a target of capital punishment.

—That the south Korean authorities are seeking to perpetuate national division for realizing their wild ambition for long-term office finds vivid expression in the fact that they are still persisting in their moves for "admission of two Koreas to the United Nations" which they brought forward

last year only to be rejected by the people in north and south of Korea and the governments and peoples of the peace-loving countries the world over, and have nowadays worked out a plan for the "unilateral U.N. membership" of south Korea.

Both the "unilateral admission of south Korea to the United Nations" and the "simultaneous entry of two Koreas into the United Nations" advertised by the south Korean authorities are the same in aim: the permanent division of Korea.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, as it has stated time and again, clarifying its stand, considers it quite natural for our Republic to be admitted to the United Nations. But it maintains the stand that the north and the south should not enter the United Nations separately before the reunification of the country, but enter it as one Korea under the single national title after the realization of the reunification or at least after the enforcement of a confederation, in accordance with the unanimous will of the whole nation for preventing the division of the country and achieving its reunification.

If two Koreas enter the United Nations simultaneously or south Korea enters it unilaterally, the end result will be that Korea, the state of a single nation, is publicly recognized as two states on the international scene and the division of Korea is frozen.

The United States and the south Korean authorities loudly hold that the "simultaneous admission to the United Nations" of north and south Korea would help remove the distrust and tension between the north and the south and contribute to the realization of interchange and collaboration. But no Korean believes it.

If the old state of homogeneous nation is divided into two states by force, it will not stabilize the situation but, on the contrary, it will only increase the constant tension and the source of war and make Korea's reunification more remote.

The south Korean "regime," by origin, being a "regime" framed up under the patronage of U.S. bayonets, can represent none of the south Korean people and, accordingly, it is not qualified to enter the United Nations.

It is clear that the principle of universality applicable to an independent sovereign state in the admission to the United Nations cannot be applied to the south Korean "regime" thoroughly dependent on the United States politically, economically and militarily.

Together with the governments and peoples of the peace-loving countries across the world, the Government and people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will never tolerate any attempt to abuse the authority of the United Nations for perpetuating the division of Korea.

With no amount of attempt can the south Korean authorities ever justify their criminal moves in totally opposing the North-South Joint State-

ment, leading the dialogue between the north and the south to a rupture and seeking the perpetuation of the division of Korea.

3

The responsibility for the lack of progress in the dialogue between the north and the south of Korea and for her continued division rests entirely with the United States.

The United States has been occupying south Korea already for nearly 30 years and is obstructing the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea in every way, persistently pursuing a policy of aggression and war.

The situation of the dialogue between the north and the south and all the developments in south Korea today clearly show how deep the domination of the United States has struck its roots in south Korea and how persistently it tries to perpetuate the division of Korea.

Even after the adoption of the U.N. General Assembly resolution last year, which expressed the hope that the reunification of Korea would be realized on the basis of the North-South Joint Statement, the United States has further intensified its acts of interfering in the internal affairs of our country and hampering the reunification of Korea by taking advantage of its dominant position in south Korea.

—The United States openly prattles that it will not withdraw its troops from south Korea, while preventing the implementation of the principles of the North-South Joint Statement and backing the south Korean authorities' policy of dependence on outside forces.

* The U.S. Department of Defence stated that it has "no plan to change the deployment of the U.S. armed forces stationed in south Korea and there is a great international and political reason to station the U.S. army in south Korea." (Washington, *Reuter,* March 1, 1974)

* At the "seventh south Korea-U.S. security conference" held on September 24 and 25, the U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defence declared that "there is no plan for the withdrawal of the U.S. troops stationed in south Korea" and, furthermore, said that the "5-year plan for the modernization of the south Korean army" designed to bring military equipment and war supplies to south Korea "will be delayed for about 2 years", with assurances to "make efforts to meet the need for a sufficient level of military aid, understanding that it is felt" by the south Korean authorities. (south Korean *Radio Chungang,* September 24, 1974; Seoul, Japanese news agency *Kyodo,* September 25, 1974)

—The United States has instigated the south Korean authorities to north-south confrontation with arms support, not confining itself to words, but continuously shipping in actuality new-type weapons and combat equipment to south Korea and increasing military aid.

* This year the United States again brought a group of "F-4 Phantom" fighter-bombers into south Korea from Thailand.

They said this would serve "to strengthen greatly the U.S. fighter planes in south Korea" as this type of fighter plane has high "performance." (The *New York Times,* May 26, 1974)

* The U.S. Department of Defence stated that "in fiscal 1974 it is planning to reinforce the ground combat forces of the U.S. army in south Korea and increase the U.S. marine forces in the West Pacific region including the Korean peninsula and Japan by 1,500 men with an aim of defending south Korea." (south Korean *Radio Munhwa,* October 3, 1973)

The United States stated that while reinforcing the U.S. forces, it would continue to give south Korea 1.5 billion dollars of "free military aid" envisaged in the "5-year plan for the modernization of the south Korean army" in order to step up the modernization of the south Korean army as well and is shipping large quantities of military equipment into south Korea.

* The United States sent to south Korea the "commander of the U.S. army in the Pacific," the "commander of the U.S. air force in the Pacific" and the "chief of general staff of the U.S. air force" one after the other to "inspect" the areas along the Military Demarcation Line and "examine the situation" and step up the "perfection of war posture," holding war confabs with the south Korean bellicose elements. (Seoul, south Korean news agency *Hapdong,* June 16, 1974)

The United States thus constantly supplies weapons to the south Korean authorities and instigates them to war under the pretext of backing them in the dialogue.

—The United States and the south Korean authorities, engineered by it, have staged clamorous war exercises almost every day in their simulated invasion of the northern half of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, stirred up a war atmosphere and constantly aggravated tension.

* On March 21, 1974, the "U.S. command in south Korea" staged a "combat supply" exercise for "testing the capacity of fulfilling combat tasks" of the U.S. army and the south Korean puppet army, by mobilizing a large number of fighter planes and transport planes. (south Korean *Radio Tongyang,* March 21, 1974)

* In April, the U.S. army again dragged out huge armed forces to the areas of Taejon, south Korea, and conducted a war exercise of launching Nike Hercules and Hawk missiles. (*Stars and Stripes,* April 10, 1974)

* On July 13, the United States "urgently airlifted" the reserves of the U.S. army in Hawaii to the air base in Osan, south Korea, and staged for two weeks a clamorous war exercise to cope with a real war under the name of "call-up for service exercise."

Besides, it staged a large-scale "anti-aircraft gun firing exercise"

from April 15 to 20 this year, and carried out a "naval gun firing" on the eastern coastal sea in July with the mobilization of "all the fire power of the warships" and staged a "shelling exercise" on April 5, a "chemical exercise" on April 10, and a "tactical exercise in the garrison area" and a "defence exercise" on April 11. (south Korean *Radio Chungang,* April 16, 1974; south Korean *Radio Pohang,* July 21, 1974)

* On June 26, a "civil anti-air raid" drill was conducted to "cope with a surprise attack of the enemy planes and a real war" with the total mobilization of people in 35 cities, 122 towns and ports throughout south Korea. (south Korean *Radio Chungang,* June 26, 1974)

* The U.S. imperialists are ceaselessly perpetrating armed provocations from the ground, air and sea and military espionage by high-altitude reconnaissance planes against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

* During the period from January to August 1974, the acts of provocation committed by the U.S. side against the northern half of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in violation of the Armistice Agreement hit the high of more than 15,500 cases, counting only those officially raised at the Korean Military Armistice Commission.

By so doing, the United States is stirring up a war atmosphere, not peaceful atmosphere in Korea, taking sides with the south Korean authorities that advocate "superiority in strength" and "prevail-over-communism unification" and instigating them to a test of strength and war, not national unity and collaboration.

Owing to the new war provocation racket of the United States, the situation in Korea is getting more strained.

In fact, there exists in Korea today not the "threat of southward aggression" from the north, but the threat of northward aggression from the south.

—At present the United States is zealously drawing the Japanese militarists in the execution of its policy of aggression and war in Korea.

Today, the United States is openly demanding the Japanese militarists to "increase Japan's economic and military aid to south Korea for the modernization" of the south Korean army.

* The U.S. Secretary of Defence "testified" before U.S. Congress that Japan had assured the "United States that the latter can use the U.S. military bases in Japan to support south Korea in case of emergency." (Seoul, south Korean news agency *Hapdong,* May 27, 1974)

* In Tokyo, Japan, in May last the U.S. air force authorities said: "It is expected that there will be a time when the Japan Self-Defence Forces will be expanded on a larger scale to fulfil its missions outside Japan in the future." (Tokyo, south Korean news agency *Hapdong,* May 22, 1974)

It is not a secret that they have Korea in minds when they talk about outside of the boundary of Japan.

Some reactionaries of Japan are stepping up their reinvasion of south Korea in all its spheres, political, economic, cultural and military, with a foolish dream of restoring their old colonial domination over Korea by joining in the United States' moves.

But the Japanese militarists must not fail to understand that their aggressive aim stands no chance of realization.

All acts being committed by the U.S. troops in south Korea at a time when the Third Session of the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea advanced a proposal for concluding a peace agreement between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States to create a prerequisite to the removal of tension in Korea and the acceleration of the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is striving for its realization, clearly show how viciously they are manoeuvring to foster distrust and enmity between the north and the south and break up the dialogue.

The U.S. Government authorities are encouraging the south Korean authorities to have the dialogue on the "position of strength" with the promise that the U.S. troops will stay on in south Korea and increase military support. This act is the root cause of the obstruction to the realization of the North-South Joint Statement stipulating the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

In order to implement the principles of the North-South Joint Statement and achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country through the north-south dialogue, the U.S. troops occupying south Korea under the cloak of "U.N. Forces" must, first of all, be withdrawn from south Korea without delay and an end be put to the colonial enslavement policy of the United States toward south Korea.

4

27 years have already elapsed since the United Nations was involved in the Korean question by the United States.

With the dissolution last year of the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" which had been a U.S. tool for aggression against Korea, one of the obstacles to the reunification of Korea was removed. But no radical turn has taken place yet in the solution of the Korean question.

This is because the United States, the author of the Korean division, is still persisting in the policy of aggression and war under the U.N. flag in south Korea and refusing to withdraw its troops.

The Korean question still remains unsolved. This is no longer tolerable either in the national point of view of the Korean people or in the light of world peace or the authority of the U.N.

The U.N. should take steps to withdraw all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the U.N. flag.

The draft resolution "on withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the U.N. flag," submitted by the socialist countries and a number of Asian and African countries to the 29th session of the U.N. General Assembly, envisages practical and reasonable measures to remove the basic obstacles to the solution of the question of Korea's reunification.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea holds that this draft resolution which conforms to the will and aspiration of the Korean people and the peace-loving peoples of the world must be adopted without fail at the current session of the U.N. General Assembly.

The United States has no pretext or ground whatsoever to keep its aggression troops stationed in south Korea.

The occupation of south Korea by the U.S. troops carrying the U.N. flag is an aggressive act outrageously violating the publicly recognized principles of international law on respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in other's internal affairs.

This is also contrary to the Korean Armistice Agreement which envisages the withdrawal of all the foreign troops from Korea after the armistice and runs counter as well to the principles of the North-South Joint Statement aimed at reunifying the country independently without any interference of outside forces.

The "resolution" of the U.N. Security Council which the United States has so far abused to justify the occupation of south Korea by the U.S. troops was also wrongly adopted in flagrant violation of various provisions of the United Nations Charter.

That "resolution" was fabricated in a fraudulent way in violation of the principle of unanimity of all the permanent members of the Security Council, without any accurate data of investigation and in the absence of the party concerned.

The "U.N. Forces" in south Korea are the U.S. troops with the "U.N. Forces" helmets on.

Now that the shameless mission of the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea," a U.S. tool of aggression against Korea, came to an end already last year, subject to the unanimous condemnation by the U.N. member states, it is quite natural that the "U.N. Forces", one of the two peas in the same pod, should be dissolved and withdrawn without delay.

With no means or ways can the United States and the south Korean authorities justify the occupation of south Korea by the U.S. imperialist aggression troops.

Today it is an irresistible demand of the times that the foreign troops must be withdrawn from south Korea.

It is high time for the U.S. authorities to change their old policy and withdraw their troops from south Korea and thereby remove the stumbling-block in the way of dialogue between the north and south and the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

However, the U.S. refuses to give up its attempt to fabricate two Koreas and does not want to pull out of south Korea in disregard of the demands of the entire Korean people in the north and the south and the times.

The United States is manoeuvring in various ways to prevent the resolution on the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the U.N. flag from being adopted at the U.N. General Assembly.

It is universally known that it is the United States itself that has so far forced the discussion of the question of keeping the "U.N. Forces" in south Korea at the U.N. General Assembly and that under its coercion the U.N. General Assembly dealt with this question and adopted an unwarranted resolution on it every year.

But now when the situation at the U.N. has turned to its disadvantage, the United States is trying to bring this question to the narrow limit of the Security Council. This, in the final analysis, is no more than a sinister trick to realize its purpose of permanent occupation of south Korea by making use of its veto at the Security Council.

The current session of the U.N. General Assembly must naturally take relevant measures to withdraw all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the U.N. flag.

As it is unable to find any more pretext to justify the presence of the "U.N. Forces" in south Korea, the United States is brazen-facedly clamouring of late that "the number of U.S. troops under the command of the U.N. Forces in south Korea is no more than a few hundreds and almost all of the 38,000 U.S. troops in south Korea are stationed there on the basis of the 'ROK-U.S. Mutual Defence Pact'." (New York, Japanese news agency *Kyodo,* September 17, 1974)

When the United States thinks it advantageous to use the name of the United Nations in justifying the occupation of south Korea by its troops, it calls them the "U.N. Forces," and when it thinks it disadvantageous to wear the helmets of the "U.N. Forces," it says that the troops are not the "U.N. Forces." This is one of its habitual gangster-like logics.

The U.S. troops occupying south Korea have all along behaved themselves as the "U.N. Forces," never opening their mouths without chanting that they cannot get out of south Korea as they are there under the "U.N. resolution." But all of a sudden they say that they are not the "U.N. Forces." This is a political swindle stemming from their aggressive ambition to permanently occupy south Korea at least and it serves only to show how deeply the U.S. imperialists are now in a predicament.

The United States clamours that the U.S. troops will remain as ever

in south Korea under the "ROK-U.S. Mutual Defence Pact" even if a resolution on the withdrawal of the "U.N. Forces" may be adopted at the United Nations. But the Korean people will never permit it.

It is a stark historical fact that before the fabrication of the "ROK-U.S. Mutual Defence Pact" the U.S. imperialist aggression troops had already crept into south Korea under the flag of the "U.N. Forces." Nevertheless, they now say that the U.S. troops are stationed in south Korea under the "ROK-U.S. Mutual Defence Pact." This is a preposterous sophistry and act flouting the world public opinion.

Originally, what they call the "ROK-U.S. Mutual Defence Pact" is an illegal one concocted by the United States with the traitorous regime which can represent none of the people in south Korea in order to perpetuate its occupation of south Korea. The Korean people have never recognized this traitorous pact, and declared it null and void long ago.

The south Korean people have never asked and will never ask the U.S. imperialist aggression troops bringing them immeasurable misfortunes and sufferings to remain in south Korea.

It is foolish to try to justify the occupation of south Korea by the U.S. troops with a sort of pact concocted between the U.S. imperialists and the south Korean traitorous clique at a time when it cannot be justified even with the name of the "U.N. Forces."

Besides, the United States is alleging that if the "U.N. Forces" pull out of south Korea without any guarantee for the implementation of the Armistice Agreement in south Korea, there will arise the danger of war. This is also designed to dodge the withdrawal of the U.S. troops.

The maintenance of the armistice in Korea is guaranteed not by the U.S. troops but by the consistent, peaceful efforts of the Government of our Republic.

If the foreign troops which are obstructing the peaceful reunification of Korea and causing the constant danger of war in Korea under the sign-board of the "U.N. Forces" withdraw in accordance with a resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, it will provide a firm guarantee for the preservation of peace in Korea and there will arise no other question of guarantee.

But, if there is any question which may arise in the course of the withdrawal of the foreign troops, it can be dealt with through negotiations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States, the parties directly concerned.

As we have already proposed to the U.S. authorities to conclude a peace agreement, there will be no particular problem in this connection either.

If any question arises after the withdrawal of the foreign troops, it can be settled through direct negotiations between the north and south, the parties concerned.

The North-South Joint Statement constitutes a firm basis for such negotiations.

While giving no reply to our proposal to conclude a peace agreement, the U.S. authorities are clamouring only about a sort of guarantee with regard to the withdrawal of the U.S. troops from south Korea. This is designed not to withdraw the U.S. troops from south Korea at any cost but to keep Korea divided into two forever and keep a hold on south Korea at least.

In fact, if the U.S. troops stay on in south Korea, it will create the constant danger of war, and once a war breaks out, it will easily develop into a total war.

The United States can never escape its obligations and responsibility to get out unconditionally, taking along all its troops and various operational equipment which it shipped into south Korea in the name of the "U.N. Forces."

If the U.S. troops pull out of south Korea and the interference of outside forces in Korea is removed, the Korean people will solve the question of national reunification with credit in conformity with the will and national interests of the entire people in the north and south in accordance with the three principles of national reunification—independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity—and the five-point proposition of national reunification whose keynote is to remove the state of military confrontation and ease the tension between the north and the south, realize may-sided collaboration and interchange between the north and the south, convene a Great National Congress composed of the representatives of people of all walks of life, political parties and social organizations in the north and the south, enforce a north-south confederation under the single national title of the Confederal Republic of Koryo and enter the United Nations under the single national title.

The struggle of the Korean people to compel the U.S. troops wearing the helmets of the "U.N. Forces" to withdraw from south Korea and realize the independent and peaceful reunification of their country is part of the anti-imperialist struggle of the world people against acts of aggression and intervention by the imperialists and for defending national independence and peace.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is convinced that its just stand and demand for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea will enjoy the active support of the governments and peoples of the socialist countries as well as Asian, African, Latin American countries and peace-loving countries of the world.

Pyongyang, October 7, 1974